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end iron axe of assorted sizes obtained from the frontier Jivaro, or headed with the hard teeth of the *ezsa* tree, or even river gravel, when iron axes cannot be obtained. 411 438

Fighting is rarely done with weapons other than firearms, but occasionally a man kills an enemy from ambush with a plain palm lance or a "shotgun" lance to demonstrate his valor. The "shotgun" lance has a tip made by chopping off the barrel of a worn-out shotgun with a machete, beating the base of the barrel into a point, and inserting a palm-wood shaft into the muzzle end of the barrel. A few old men also carry lances with iron tips obtained years ago by trade from Guallaquiza. Some of these older men also have crude wooden shields in their houses for use in the *tsantsa* feast ritual. Machetes and the less common trade knives are also sometimes employed as fighting weapons. 411 726 178 • 411 [439] [914]

Men stretch and dry skins of wild boar, jaguar, ocelot, and other felines for trade. Monkey hides are used for making men's shoulder bags. Both sexes manufacture thread, string, and braided rope. Thread is made from the inner bark of the *nishi* tree, and string from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. Men's shoulder bags of knotted and knotless netting are made of this inner bark string using large bone needles. 462 [282] [438] [439] [415] [284] [824]

Weaving, done in almost all houses, is exclusively a man's task. Men, compared to women in Jivaro society, tend to have much more leisure time, which may help account for the fact that they do the spinning, dyeing, and weaving. When not hunting or clearing forest, a man likes to sit in his end of the house, either quietly alone or conversing with visitors. In either case, spinning and weaving allow him to occupy his hands with a pleasant craft which can be interrupted or picked up again as he desires. The textiles he makes are extremely durable and thus there is usually no urgency attached 462 286 283

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TABLE 1

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KINSHIP: ELEMENTARY TERMS OF REFERENCE AND TERMS OF ADDRESS

Key to abbreviations

Br	brother	Gs	grandson
Da	daughter	Hu	husband
Fa	father	Mo	mother
Gc	grandchild	Si	sister
Gd	granddaughter	So	son
Gp	grandparent	Wi	wife

The abbreviations also represent the possessive form; thus, MoBrDaSo is mother's brother's daughter's son.

• [198]

O	a formerly more common term
N	a recently innovated term
A	a term recently borrowed from the Achuara

601

MALE SPEAKING; TERMS OF ADDRESS IN PARENTHESES

FaFa, MoFa *apaĭ* also GpBr (*apaĭ* O; *apáĭru* O; *apodáĭ* N)

FaMo, MoMo *mukuĭ* also GpSi (*mukuĭ* O; *mukuĭáĭ* N)

Fa, FaBr, MoSiHu *apa* (*aparua; apaĭ; apamaĭ; apa* N A)

Mo, MoSi, MoBrWi, FaSi, FaBrWi *mãĭru* (*mãĭkuĭ; mãĭkui*); if *ego* marries a daughter of MoBrWi, FaSi, or FaBrWi, *tsatsa* (*mãĭkui*) is substituted for *mãĭru* with regard to the bride's mother.

FaSiHu, MoBr, WiFa *iĭi* (*iĭi*)

Br, FaBrSo, FaSiDaHu, MoSiSo, MoBrDaHu *yaĭi yamaĭi*—younger to older brother; *ampá*—older to younger)

Si, FaBrDa, FaSiSoWi, MoSiDa, MoBrSoWi *amai* (*maĭá; amaĭi* N; *amaimi* O; *amaimiĭi* O; *amaĭiru*)

SiHu, FaSiSo, FaBrDaHu, MoBrSo, MoSiDaHu, WiBr *sai* (*saĭkua*)

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did" or "we do it that way because other people would laugh at us if we did it differently." The Jivaro seem proud of their ability to judge for themselves the usefulness of continuing or changing their traditional behavior on very pragmatic and personal grounds. All this argument seems to convey the idea that the Jivaro are natural anthropologists, but simply that their knowledge of the factors which influence the changes that they make as individuals should be respected sufficiently to be collected and included as useful ethnological data.

The main variables introduced into interior Jivaro culture during the period studied were Western-manufactured trade goods, especially machetes, axes, and guns. Some machetes were acquired by the frontier Jivaro near Macas about a hundred years ago,[9] but very few reached the interior Jivaro by intra-tribal trade until the turn of the century, and even these were so scarce and valued that their blades were each split into fragments to permit their utilization by several households. The more efficient steel blade fragments were at first used in the same manner as the aboriginal stone axe heads, each machete piece being mounted into a wooden handle. After the 1930's, however, machetes became sufficiently abundant so that the need to split the blades into small fragments was eliminated. They also largely replaced by then the traditional palm-wood "machetes" used in cutting down garden weeds. Despite their fair degree of availability at the present time, steel machetes are still highly valued and are used for many years, long after they have lost their handles and have become worn down to a fraction of their former size. Today they are considered to be utterly indispensable tools by the Jivaro, who also have been able to acquire some single-bitted steel axe-heads, although in much smaller numbers than the machetes.

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fallen trees every a time, they resemble in every respect those of a clearing made by heaven.'

Today such "giant" trees as referred to by Up de Graff are often felled in a matter of hours by a single man employing a steel axe, or somewhat longer if he only has a machete.

Despite the increased availability of steel axes and machetes for land clearing and weeding in recent decades, the size of forest areas cleared for gardens has not become larger. In fact, garden size and agricultural production are actually reported to have decreased by perhaps a third of what they were several decades ago.[4] Specifically, elderly informants estimate that the present garden size per nuclear family is one half to three quarters of what it was in 1925. They attribute the decline in agricultural production to the disinclination of the young men to clear land "because they do not like to work hard the way their fathers did."[5] Instead, according to the informants, the younger men have their minds fixed on acquiring shotguns, steel tools, and other goods by becoming shamans or trading partners, and also spend more time than formerly in visiting each other's houses, drinking, and engaging in pre- and extra-marital sexual adventures.

198 241 189 461 577 [592]

There has also been a growing tendency for each household to have several small garden plots rather than the single large garden which was previously typical. This change is attributed to the fact that the steel axe and machete are so much more efficient than the preceding stone tools that a man can now successfully work alone in tree felling without needing to call on his neighbors for help. By avoiding asking them for help, he hopes to maintain better relations with them and thereby secure their services in some more important matter. Since a man usually works alone at inconvenient times, the individ-

198 592 241 476 [319] [412]

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ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large communal effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The new universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

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178 partnership pattern in recent decades has also been associated
571 with the more common use of the "friend" term of address (*amici*) between people in general, in preference to kinship
[601] terms. The "friend" term is now used increasingly: (1) to
[572] remind neighbors and relatives subtly of some earlier obliga-
[576] tion; and (2) to indicate a friendly feeling for the person addressed beyond the necessities of kinship obligations.

The only discernible changes in kinship formal structure
178 have occurred in the adoption, increase, or decrease in use of
601 a few specific terms of address by men and the adoption of
576 a men's term of reference (*aive*) by women. A few Achuara terms of address have been introduced through the inter-tribal trading partnerships. These are indicated on Table 1, which shows also the elementary kinship terms of reference and the terms of address.

178 One of the clearest socio-economic trends has been the
754 tendency for ever greater numbers of persons, especially
756 men, to become shamans, as well as trading partners, during
181 the past few decades. Informants uniformly ascribe this trend
556 to the desire of individuals to acquire "white men's valuables," especially machetes and firearms, and to distribute these
[571] goods in order to win friendship. The considerable growth of
[572] socio-economic power wielded by shamans in their neighborhoods is also a recent development involving: (1) an increase in their proportionate numbers in the population; (2) a growth in the demand for their services; and (3) an increase in their accumulated material valuables, with the resulting development of some individual differentiation in terms of
[431] wealth in trade goods. This development has been facilitated by the fact that the shamans can successfully accumulate goods because of the laymen's fear of asking them for gifts.
[753] The rise in numbers of shamans is also believed to have increased the amount of illness and death due to witchcraft.

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178 curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls.
774 First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has vir-
778 tually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared
[714] straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

[787] [276] [824] [756] [755]

178 A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are
775 beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or
774 "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the
823 active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted
177 from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic
797 missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuṇurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

178 A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application
682 of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five
754 decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro

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partially as a retaliatory response to the growth in fatal bewitchings.

The rise in adultery is attributed to the tendency of young men not to work as hard as in former decades and instead to spend their time visiting other households to drink beer, look for sexual partners, and perhaps obtain trade goods through making "friends." This increase in intra-neighborhood visiting and shamanism may be due to the greater leisure time available for the men since the introduction of steel cutting tools, but informants themselves primarily ascribe the trends in visiting and shamanism to the young men's fixation on the acquisition of the "white man's valuables," particularly firearms, and a resultant de-emphasis on hard physical work, especially in land clearing.

The growth in witchcraft, and of the sanctions applied against it, has resulted in an intensification of the traditional Jivaro feuding pattern during the past half-century. The Jivaro partially ascribe this intensification to the decline of inter-tribal head-taking raids which they themselves recognize as having been an activity which acted as an outlet for men who wished to engage in killing. Today, because of the trade-derived inhibitions against raids on the Achuara, killings and protracted feuding have become more frequent within the Jivaro tribe and even within the neighborhood.

Inter-tribal head-taking raids, i.e., "war," in contrast, have declined steadily both in frequency and size for about the last four to five decades. Today usually not more than one such expedition takes place every year, and a war party rarely exceeds forty warriors, whereas at the turn of the century such expeditions apparently were almost monthly attacking the Achuara, and an estimated four hundred to five hundred warriors sometimes took part in a single raid.

The decline in inter-tribal warfare is attributed to the

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178 721 441 growth of inter-tribal trading partnerships, whose participants and their relatives have a vested interest in the maintenance of inter-tribal peace to protect the partners. Relatives of the traders threaten to apply sanctions against their own tribesmen if they should initiate war against the Achuara. The Achuara, who have the same interest in maintaining the trading system, similarly discourage inter-tribal raids against the Jivaro.

178 411 926 [342] [712] Winchesters and shotguns have almost entirely replaced palm-wood thrusting lances as the chief combat weapons both for offense and defense. Formerly, spears thrown with the spear-thrower were used along with thrusting lances in attacks, while poisoned blowgun darts and double-pointed palm throwing sticks were used in household defense, the latter being cast from now vanished house towers. Round [714] wooden shields, formerly universally carried in combat, are likewise no longer used in fighting, due to their inadequacy against guns. The use of shields is now restricted to rare [796] [727] ritual functions, especially in the *tsantsa* feast. Such ceremonial feasts have considerably diminished in size and frequency as a consequence of the decline in inter-tribal head-taking raids.

178 342 411 712 926 Changes in house construction during the past few decades have been influenced primarily by the adoption of firearms for fighting. Formerly, the roof of the house was sometimes surmounted by a wooden defensive tower from which missiles could be showered onto attackers. Today such towers have entirely disappeared, since the use of guns by attackers only made the position of defenders in the towers untenable.

At the same time, the use of firearms has encouraged the construction of breastworks of horizontally placed logs inside of house walls as a protection against gunfire. The

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178 184 298 411 438 [727] been made possible by the development of trade with the Achuara, who are the main regional producers of blowguns and curare. Formerly, blowguns and curare could only be obtained in small quantities by looting Achuara houses after a successful head-hunting raid.

178 227 438 In the case of fishing, no noticeable trends have occurred except for a very minor increase in the use of hook-and-line technique due to the acquisition of some steel fish hooks by means of the inter-tribal trade network.

178 222 197 Wild food gathering has been marked by a decline in the collection of the formerly important chonta palm fruit. This decline in collection, interestingly enough, is attributed to the introduction of the steel machete, whose efficiency, compared to the stone axe, made it easy for men to chop down chonta palms simply for their edible tips, thereby reducing the number of trees available as regular sources of the hanging clusters of fruit. In other words, the introduction of steel cutting tools, by contributing to the degradation of this wild food resource, decreased rather than increased food obtained from gathering.

178 24 Species of domesticated plants remain unchanged except for two new additions, *papa china* and the onion, introduced by means of trading partners from the frontier Jivaro, who in turn had adopted them from the missionaries and Ecuadorian settlers. None of the aboriginal native crops has been abandoned within the memory of the informants.

[462] The sexual division of labor in agricultural activities is unchanged except for the relatively inconsequential harvesting of the small plantings of red pepper and sugar cane. Formerly, both sexes engaged in harvesting these, whereas now only women do. The decline of male interest in harvesting sugar cane seems to be due to the fact that since the adoption of firearms, blowguns and poisoned darts are rarely used any

178 298 411 824

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more in defending houses against attack. Sugar cane was the chief antidote against the curare dart poison, and men going on a killing expedition would carry some to suck on if hit by a dart.

Despite the efficiency of the steel tools and their increased supply, the quantity and quality of the artifacts produced through their use does not seem to have particularly changed. In other aspects of work, the machete has replaced the aboriginal bamboo knife for skinning animals and cutting meat, and has almost entirely taken the place of the palm-wood "machete" in clearing gardens of weeds. Steel needles obtained from the West have partially replaced bone ones for sewing and boring. The traditional bone needles, because of their large size, are still preferred for some tasks, especially the making of netted bags. A new minor craft is the fashioning of powder horns from unworked cow horns obtained from trading partners in the west, who secure them from the whites.

The preparation of animal skins for trade has increased considerably in order to acquire steel tools, shotguns, and gunpowder from the frontier Jívaro trading partners. Cordage manufacture remains unchanged, but the local production of knotted and knotless netting bags is a new development, learned from the Achuara tribe as a result of the increased peaceful contacts by trading partners.

Western-manufactured clothing, along with trade cloth and glass beads, has been adopted gradually by men and women as a result of the development of the trading partnership system. The increased trade has also resulted in the acquisition of Achuara-woven cotton kilts. The acquisition of both Western and Achuara items of dress has greatly contributed to a decline in the home weaving of garments by Jívaro. Bark clothing, viewed as a sign of poverty, has be-

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178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.

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EPILOGUE

In the summer of 1969 I revisited the *untsuri huará* both east and west of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The changes in Jivaro life that had occurred, even since my last fieldwork in 1964, were far more extensive than anything I could have predicted. Small airstrips, primarily opened up by the missionaries, now dot almost all of the Jivaro region. Under missionary sponsorship, bilingual Jivaro schoolteachers have been placed in the most remote locations, and medical treatment is periodically dispensed along with evangelization.

Ecuadorian army garrisons are now found in the *untsuri huará* territory as far east as the Río Pangui, where there is now a major air-supplied military base and Salesian mission (Taisha), as well as a new settlement of more than one hundred white colonists. Missionaries have collaborated with the military and police forces both west and east of the Cutucú range to largely halt intra-tribal assassinations as well as warfare with the Achuara. In recent years, men who have engaged in such traditional raids have often been seized and sent off to an uncertain future in prison in the Ecuadorian highlands. These actions by the modern state have essentially brought interpersonal security to most of the Jivaro, thereby fundamentally altering the nature of the reality upon which much of their socio-economic structure and ideology were built. There are probably few cultures in the history of the world that have been so rapidly and significantly disintegrated by the simple introduction of centralized "law and order."

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178 628 721 578 698 183 [764] This does not mean that Jivaro killing has been entirely eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More typical of the present situation is that some Jivaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have recently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jivaro.

178 698 315 An additional new development occurred in the lives of the Jivaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

161 [165] While the traditional culture and society of the Jivaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not. Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri huara* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jivaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.

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Economic factors are also playing an important role in the rapidly changing life of these people. The Jivaro, as has been indicated earlier in this book, have long been anxious to acquire the technology and dress of Western civilization. Now that air transportation is available to most of the tribe, the only limit on Jivaro aspirations to acquire manufactured goods is their ability to acquire cash. Their model for such success is the cattle-raising Ecuadorian colonists west of the Cordillera de Cutucú, who have now converted most of the lowerlands of the Río Upano Valley into pasture with the aid of Jivaro labor. Air transport has made it profitable to ship beef to the highlands from there, and three local competing airlines are involved in the lucrative trade. Some Jivaro, with the strong encouragement of both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, are now clearing pasture land also for themselves to raise cattle and are starting to achieve success in acquiring substantial cash in exchange for beef.

While essentially pleased with their changing standard of living, the Jivaro have an increasingly pervasive fear of the white colonists and soldiers. West of the Cutucú range, the influx of mestizo settlers from the highlands has created a scarcity of land for cattle raising, and they are now attempting to invade the lands reserved by the Catholic missions for Indian use. The Jivaro, in turn, wish to expand their own pasture land, and see the attempted inroads by whites into the forest lands as a threat to their own future economic welfare. In 1969 a confrontation occurred between approximately four hundred Jivaro and thirty colonists and police near Sucúa when the latter group attempted to enter mission-administered lands. Although both groups were armed, no fighting broke out, the whites choosing to withdraw. However, the competition for land is clearly going to become worse, and may lead to serious bloodshed.

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As of this writing, the last bridge is being constructed in a motor-vehicle road which is otherwise completed and which will connect Cuenca in the highlands with Macas via Méndez. This improved means of access to the Río Upano Valley will undoubtedly mean increased immigration of colonists from the province of Azuay.

Many members of the tribe seem convinced that the eventual goal of the whites is to wipe them out in order to seize their land. Throughout my stay in 1969 rumors swept through the Indian neighborhoods, even reaching as far as the Achuara, that the white soldiers were about to initiate such a massacre. Indeed, once, while my family and I were staying in a very isolated Achuara neighborhood near the Peruvian border, a rumor arrived (which we subsequently determined was erroneous) that Ecuadorian troops had killed five Jívaro men at Sucúa. Simply upon the basis of this most slender (mis)information, the Jívaro who accompanied us, together with our Achuara hosts, started planning to march on Sucúa to strike back. Thus there is a climate of hostility and unrest which recalls the conditions of the Jívaro revolt of 1599 and the near uprising of 1941.

An important aspect of the current situation is the difference between the concepts of land utilization held by the Jívaro and the whites. The Jívaro, with a free land tradition, have a difficult time adjusting to the concept of land ownership. Besides this, the Jívaro do not have the tradition of solely subsisting on agriculture and livestock raising, but also depend significantly upon hunting, fishing, and some gathering. Thus, in localities of high visibility to the whites, especially the mission-administered lands in the Río Upano Valley, the Indian lands appear to be unexploited by white standards, although the Jívaro feel that, in fact, their lands are overexploited in terms of hunting. Thus, while the Jívaro

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182 fairs), but the absence of such a third force to represent ef-
797 fectively the economic interests of the Jivaro within the
648 governmental structure places the Indians under serious obligations to the missionaries and often limits their independence of action.

179 Still, the Jivaro have clearly opted for adaptation to a
178 Western life style and seem to have no brief for maintaining
182 traditional features of their native life simply for tradition's sake alone. While they undoubtedly will wish to preserve and even revive certain aspects of their old culture within the context of a desire for an ethnic identity, at this moment in time they seem to be basically focused upon acquiring what they discern as the most positive features of the whites' life. Whether their eventual fate will parallel that of their North American counterparts, who went through similar attempts at adaptation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or whether the twentieth century will be kinder, is a question that remains to be answered.

121 In any case, the culture of the Jivaro as described in this book now largely belongs to history. Personally, I view it as a loss, emotionally and scientifically, and only hope that these meager efforts will help preserve a record of what was once a magnificently distinctive life style.

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114 161 361

reported by Danielsson (1940, p. 86) whose Jivaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 40 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Danielsson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Danielsson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yutupata, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954, pp. 158; 161) of Jivaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jivaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956-57. A comparison of the SIL Jivaro house count with the census figures for the Jivaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yutupata neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Danielsson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

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1. Murdock, 1949, p. 80.

3. In the Jivaro language *kukurma* and *kukurma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kukurma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kukurma* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

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6. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jivaro culture antedates ca. 1900, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jivaro *amigri* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jivaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *kumpa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jivaro without the implication of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Aruitam* may also be pronounced *aruitma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

2. Stillman, 1957, pp. 381, 396.

3. Castaneda, 1968, and Harner, 1973.